

NOTES ON THE MAGMA'
(*MEMENTA SANCTORUM*)
AND THE ATHANASIUS PRAYER IN THE
COPTIC PSALMODIA*

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The book of the Coptic Psalmodia was edited for the first time by Raphael Tuki in 1764 (but without due respect to the original manuscripts)¹. Another edition by the higoumen Mina al-Baramûsî appeared in Alexandria in 1908. Later in the same year Claudius Labib made a new edition according to the manuscripts belonging to Pope Cyril V and Isaak bishop of Banî Sueif. A recent edition in 1949 was due to the efforts of the Association of the Church's renaissance, and contains several additional doxologies and hymns. Marco Brogi translated it to Italian².

This Book contains the Odes previously studied by Quecke; the Theotokia³, which are excellent witnesses to the Patristic literature; psalis, by anonymous authors or attributed to authors like Sarkis⁴, Nicodemus⁵, John of Assiut⁶, Hermina and Christodolus⁷.

In this article, we will discuss the Magma' (*mementa Sanctorum*). As all the Coptic liturgical texts, the manuscripts are late and the most important fragments are from the twelfth century from the Monastery of Saint Macarius and Saint Pischoi (see after).

Father Matta al-Maskin⁸, followed by Quecke⁹, assumed that the first three Odes form a unit and the Magma' was introduced later between the Prayer of the midnight and the Prayer of the dawn.

* I would like to thank my colleague Madam Anne Boud'hors for facilitating my task in consulting the Manuscript Collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

¹ Malak, "Livres Liturgiques", 1-35. Zanetti, "Liturgical Manuscripts", 65-94.

² Cf. Brogi, *Salmodia*, 1-12.

³ Youssef, "Relecture", 157-170, and, Id., "Severus of Antioch", 93-108.

⁴ Youssef, "Recherches d'hymnographie", 383-402.

⁵ Youssef, "Nicodème", 625-633.

⁶ Youssef, "Jean évêque d'Assiut", 311-318.

⁷ Youssef, "Recherches d'hymnographie 2" (forthcoming).

⁸ Al-Maskin, *Al-Tasbiha*, 120.

⁹ Quecke, *Stundengebet*, 185.

The description of Ibn Kabar

Shams al-Riyasah abu al-Barakat called Ibn Kabar¹⁰, who lived in the second part of the thirteenth century and died on Thursday 10 May 1324 AD¹¹, was a great writer. His book *The Lamp of darkness for the explanation of the Service* is considered as an encyclopaedia of all the ecclesiastical knowledge of his time¹². This book is divided into 24 chapters; Chapter sixteen gives a detailed description of the rite of the Coptic psalmodia in the fourteenth century, this chapter is not published in its integrity, however the part, which interests us was translated by Villecourt¹³. The fact that Ibn Kabar did not mention the Magma', leads us to believe that it was introduced after the composition of his book in 1320 AD.

The groups of saints commemorated in the Magma'

The saints commemorated in the *mementa sanctorum* could be grouped generally as follows:

- 1: Biblical saints: The cult of the Biblical Saint was widespread in Egypt. It includes the Virgin Mary, the Angels, the heavenly creatures, and the prophets of the Old and New Testament¹⁴.
- 2: Martyrs: It is important to mention that the number of the martyrs is greater than the number of the monks and bishops. This phenomenon occurs also in the papyrological data¹⁵. The martyrs of Middle and Upper Egypt are nearly absent such as Olympios the martyr of Qaw, Sarapamun the martyr and Hamay¹⁶. Basilides Cycle¹⁷ is highly represented, we can mention among them: Basilides, Apatir and Irai, Theodore, Victor son of Romanus, Claudius, Panicarus, Justus, Apoli, Macarius. The martyrs attributed to Julius of Akfahs are not mentioned except a few, i.e. Paese and Thecla, Apanoub, John and Simeon, they all belonged (except for Paese and Thecla) to the group of Lower Egypt which is a late composition¹⁸. The for-

¹⁰ Wadi, "Abu al-Barakat", 233-322.

¹¹ Cf. Coquin, "Ibn Kabar", 1349-1351. Khalil, "Manuscrit arabe", 179-188. Villecourt, *Muséon* 36 (1922), 267-268.

¹² Khalil, "L'encyclopédie", 629-655.

¹³ Villecourt, *Muséon* 37 (1924), 227.

¹⁴ Papaconstantinou, *Le culte*, 230-231.

¹⁵ Papaconstantinou, *Le culte*, 233-235.

¹⁶ Coquin, "Le synaxaire", 361-362.

¹⁷ Winstedt, *Coptic Texts*, I-XXVII.

¹⁸ Youssef, *Jules d'Akfahs*, 63-222.

eign martyrs are highly represented such as George, Philopater Mercurius, Jacob the Persian, Sergius and Bacchus, Bahnam and Sarah, John of Heraclia, Isidore, Panteleon, Sophia and Euphomia. This phenomenon is clearly perceived in the name of the churches of Old Cairo, except the churches of Saint Shenoute and Apa Cyr and John all the churches bear the names of foreign saints such as Saint Mercurius, Saint Barbarah, Saint George, Saint Theodore, Saint Sergius¹⁹.

- 3: Monks: Most of the monks commemorated here, are some what attached to the desert of Scetis, by their lives, relics, or have at least an icon, a wall painting or an altar dedicated to them hence we can find Samuel of Kalamun who started his monastic life in Saint Macarius monastery and Shenoute of Atrip who has an altar in the monastery of Saint Macarius. However the first generation of monks of Scetis like Sisoës, Athre, and Isaiah, those of the second generation like Carion and Zacharie, Eudemon Porphyry, Silvanus, Mark and Zeno and those of the third generation like Achille, Alo-nios and Apollo are not represented in this *mementa sanctorum*²⁰. While monks from later generation like Abraham and George from the sixth century, John Kame from the ninth century are mentioned.
- 4: Later the Psalmodia of Kihak, which is more used, extended the list of saints to include several monks from Upper Egypt like Thomas from the desert of the Cedar, Macrobius, Hermina, Pitape and Andrew²¹.

It is clear that the compilation of the list of monks is of a late date, when the fame of the founders of the monasticism in Scetis had faded and that of the later saints took place. It is the same logic, which is found in the hymn of πινιϣ† which is post the fourteenth century.

- 5: Bishops and Patriarchs: Except the Bishops who were martyred, only two groups of bishops are mentioned in the *mementa sanctorum*, the first are those who struggled for the orthodox faith, i.e. Athanasius, Severus and Dioscore. It is important to mention that the name of Severus of Antioch is always mentioned after Saint Mark in liturgical *mementa sanctorum* and the absolution, but here it is mentioned at the end of the text²². The second group are those

¹⁹ Coquin, *Édifices chrétiens*, 1-202.

²⁰ Guy, *Apotegmes des Pères*, 49-79. Youssef, "Contribution", 71-76.

²¹ Labib, ψαλμοδια, 556-557.

²² Youssef, "Severus of Antioch", 141-150.

to whom the liturgies used in the Coptic Church are attributed: Basil, Gregory and Cyril. It is important to mention that limiting the number of liturgies to three was decreed by Gabriel Ibn Turaik (1131-1145 AD)²³.

The grouping of saints shows clearly that the *memento sanctorum* was compiled in a late date after the decline of the Upper Egyptian Tradition concerning the martyrs and the decline of the fame of the early generations of the monks of Scetis except those whose relics are preserved or having a monastery, or altar named after them.

The Manuscripts

The *mementa sanctorum* is part of the manuscripts written after the sixteenth century but to our surprise it is missing in the old manuscripts, I will give examples from the manuscripts of collection of the monastery of Saint Macarius in Scetis and now preserved in the collection of the University and State library of Hamburg:

Hymn 18, from the eighteenth century²⁴.

Hymn 40 from the fifteenth-sixteenth century²⁵.

Hymn 63 from the eighteenth-nineteenth century²⁶.

Hymn 71 from the eighteenth-nineteenth century²⁷.

Hymn 86 from the sixteenth-seventeenth century²⁸.

Hymn 101 from the sixteenth-seventeenth century²⁹.

Hymn 104 from the eighteenth-nineteenth century³⁰.

Hymn 122 from the eighteenth-nineteenth century³¹.

Some examples of the psalmodies from the monastery of Saint Pishoi and now preserved in the collection of the University and State library at Hamburg show the same phenomenon.

Psalmody 47 from the seventeenth-eighteenth century³².

Psalmody 48 from the nineteenth century³³.

²³ Burmester, "The Canons", 5-45.

²⁴ Cf. Störk, *Koptische Handschriften*, 378.

²⁵ Störk, *Koptische Handschriften*, 419-420.

²⁶ Störk, *Koptische Handschriften*, 444-449.

²⁷ Störk, *Koptische Handschriften*, 461-462.

²⁸ Störk, *Koptische Handschriften*, 505-507.

²⁹ Störk, *Koptische Handschriften*, 530.

³⁰ Störk, *Koptische Handschriften*, 541-542.

³¹ Störk, *Koptische Handschriften*, 583.

³² Burmester, *Koptische Handschriften*, 233.

³³ Burmester, *Koptische Handschriften*, 233.

Psalmody 57 from the sixteenth-seventeenth century³⁴.

Psalmody 129 from the eighteenth century³⁵.

Some examples from the psalmodias prior to the sixteenth century, the *memento sanctorum* are missing:

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France Copte 69³⁶, and Copte 34³⁷.

The collection of Psalmody in Saint Macarius Library of late date contains the intercessions³⁸.

Conclusion

Consequently we can conclude that the *mementa sanctorum* is a late compilation for the following reasons:

- 1: It is not mentioned in the description of Ibn Kabar (fourteenth/fifteenth century).
- 2: The grouping of saints was mainly compiled in the desert of Scetis, where many names of the desert fathers were missed while the names of later monks are included. The absence of the martyrs of the Upper Egyptian tradition shows that it was written after the disappearance of the Upper Egyptian rite.
- 3: The manuscripts containing the *memento sanctorum* are all of late date while the ancient manuscripts did not include them.

The remarks of Matta al-Maskin and Quecke were accurate and it seems that the *memento sanctorum* was introduced after the liturgical reforms of Gabriel V in the fifteenth century³⁹. Later the names of some local saints were introduced in the *memento sanctorum* of the psalmodia of the month of Kihak such as Hermina⁴⁰ or Pitape⁴¹.

The rite of the joyful Saturday, which contains the canticles including the first three odes, does not contain the *memento sanctorum*. This is an added confirmation to our conclusion.⁴²

³⁴ Burmester, *Koptische Handschriften*, 239.

³⁵ Burmester, *Koptische Handschriften*, 270.

³⁶ Delaporte, *Catalogue*, 70-71.

³⁷ Delaporte, *Catalogue*, 72-73.

³⁸ Zanetti, "Liturgical Manuscripts", 65-94 and especially 87-89.

³⁹ Abdallah, *Oridinamento Liturgico*, 43-44.

⁴⁰ Coquin, "Harmina", 1209a-1209b.

⁴¹ Coquin/Gabra, "Patape or Bidaba", 1907a-1908.

⁴² Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, 269-302; Sidarouss, "Paques Sainte", 3-43.

The praise of Athanasius

In the life of Saint John Kame, we read

ΑΥΧΟΣ ΟΝ ΕΘΒΗΤΩ ΝΘΟQ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΕΦΟΖΙ ΕΡΑΤΩ
ΕΤΙ ΕΦΕΡΨΑΛΙΝ ΝΘΟQ ΝΕΜ ΝΙCΝΗΟΥ ΞΕΜ ΠΙΕΧΩΡΩ ΟΝ
ΑΦΟΥΟΝΩQ ΝΧΕ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΑΒΒΑ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΠΙΑΠΟCΤΟ-
ΛΙΚΟΣ [...] ἈΦΟΥΑΩ CΑΩΝΙ ΝΝΕΦΩΗΡΙ ΕΦΟΥΕΡΟΝΟΜΑΩΙΝ
ΜΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΑΒΒΑ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΞΕΝ ΠΙΩΥΜΝΟC ΝΤΕ ΠΙ Γ
ΝΑΛΟΥ ΝΑΓΙΟC ΟΥΟΩ CΕΙΡΙ ΜΠΕΦΟΥΑΩCΑΩΝΙ ΩΑ ΕΩΟΥΝ
ΕΦΟΥΟΥ ΝΕΩΟΥΟΥ ΕΥΩΟΥ ΜΦ†

Concerning our holy father, it is also told that while he stood singing with the brethren by night, our father Abba Athanasius the Apostolic appeared to him [...] and he (John Kame) commanded his children that they should name the name of our father Abba Athanasius in the hymn of the three Holy Children; and they do his bidding even unto the day of the days, to the glory to God⁴³.

Coquin commented on this event thus: „He seems to have had a particular devotion to Saint Athanasius, who is said to have appeared to him in a vision. He is supposed to have introduced the mention of his name in hymns.“⁴⁴

The prayer of Athanasius has survived in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France Code Copte 4, which includes the psalms and biblical canticles.

Here is the description of Delaporte:

„Ms. de 210 feuillets; 28x21 cm; parchemin, sans date.

Ce manuscrit est paginé au recto en chiffres occidentaux; au verso, en lettres coptes (nombres pairs); le dernier feuillet est coté ̄ΥΞΒ [462]; les cahiers, de 16 pages, sont cotés par première et dernière avec, au milieu, un ornement rouge accompagné de mots abrégés; chaque page comporte 25 lignes de 16-20 lettres ... Acquis par Vansleb dont le cachet sur cire est empreint aux feuillets 1 et 209. Regius, 3333.“⁴⁵

We are not sure whether Vansleb bought it from Cyprus or Cairo. From the handwriting it seems that this manuscript belongs to the scriptorium of Saint Macarius and the palaeography shows that it was copied in the twelfth century. This hymn is also known in the Sahidic version⁴⁶.

⁴³ Davis, *Life*, [41].

⁴⁴ Coquin, “John Kama”, 1362b-1363b.

⁴⁵ Delaporte, *Catalogue*, 5-6 N° 7.

⁴⁶ Quecke, *Stundengebet*, 416-423 and 428-429.

The prayer occurs on the folio $\bar{\gamma}\bar{m}\bar{\theta}$

ΠΙΖΩC ΝΤΕ ΑΒΒΑ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟC ΠΙΑΡ
 $\bar{\chi}$ ΗΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC

The Ode of Abba Athanasius the
 Archbishop

⁴⁷ ΟΥΩΟΥ⁴⁸ ΞΕΝ ΝΗΕΤΒΟCΙ Ν
 Φ† ΝΕΜ ΟΥΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΖΙΧΕΝ
 ΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΥ†ΜΑ† ΞΕΝ
 ΝΙΡΩΜΙ ΤΕΝΖΩC ΕΡΟΚ
 ΤΕΝCΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ
 ΤΕΝΨΕΜΨΙ ΜΜΟΚ
 ΤΕΝΟΥΨΩΤ ΜΜΟΚ
 ΤΕΝΟΥΨΩ Ζ ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΤΕΝCΑΧΙ ΜΠΕΚΩΟΥ⁵²
 ΤΕΝΨΕΠΖΜΟΤ ΝΤΟΤΚ ΕΘ
 ΒΕ ΠΕΚΝΙΩ† ΝΩΟΥ ΠΒC
 ΠΙΟΥΡΟ⁵⁵ ΕΤΖΙΧΕΝ ΝΙΦΗΟΥ
 Ι Φ† ΦΙΩΤ ΠΙΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑ
 ΤΩΡ ΠΧC ΠΙΨΗΡΙ ΜΜΑΥ
 ΑΤQ ΜΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗC ΗΙC
 ΠΧC ΝΕΜ ΠΙΠΝΑ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ⁵⁸
 ΠΒC Φ†ΠΙΖΙΗΒ ΝΤΕ Φ† ΠΙ
 ΨΗΡΙ ΝΤΕ ΦΙΩΤ ΦΗΕ
 ΩΛΙ ΝΝΙΝΟΒΙ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΚΟC
 ΜΟC ΝΑΙ ΝΗΙ⁶⁰ ΦΗΕΤΩΛΙ
 ΜΦΝΟΒΙ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΚΟCΜΟC
 ΨΕΠ ΠΕΝ†ΖΟ ΕΡΟΚ ΦΗ
 ΕΤΖΕΜCΙ CΑΟΥΙΝΑΜ ΜΠΕQ
 ΙΩΤ ΝΑΙ ΝΑΝ

Glory to God in the heights
 and peace upon
 earth and good-will among
 men⁴⁹. We praise you
 we bless you
 we serve you
 we worship⁵⁰ you
 we confess you⁵¹
 we declare your Glory⁵³
 we give thanks to you
 for your great glory⁵⁴. Lord,
 King, who are over the
 heavens⁵⁶, God the Father
 the almighty⁵⁷. Lord, the unique son
 the only begotten, Jesus
 Christ⁵⁹, and the Holy Spirit
 Lord, God, the Lamb of
 God, the Son of the Father, who
 takes away the sin of the
 World, have mercy upon me⁶¹, you who
 takes the sin of the World
 receive to you our supplication⁶².
 Who sits at the right of His
 Father, have mercy upon us⁶³

⁴⁷ Burmester, *Horologion*, 131, 232 adds in the beginning „ΜΑΡΕΝΖΩC ΝΕΜ
 ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΧΕ“ „Let us praise with the angels saying:“

⁴⁸ Burmester, *Horologion*, 131, 232 adds „ΜΦ†“ „to God“.

⁴⁹ Lk 2:14.

⁵⁰ Abd Al-Masih Salib, *ΠΙΧΩΜ*, 339. For this edition cf. Zanetti, “Esquisse”, 407-418.

⁵¹ Mt 10:32, Lk 12:8, Rom 10:10.

⁵² Burmester, *Horologion*, 131, 232 reads „ΞΕΝ ΠΕΚΩΟΥ“.

⁵³ Ps 71:8, 108:5; Dan 3:52-53.

⁵⁴ Ps 104:1; Rev 11:17.

⁵⁵ Burmester, *Horologion*, 131, 232 reads „ΠΟΥΡΟ“.

⁵⁶ Is 37:16; Rev 15:11.

⁵⁷ Gen 1:17; Rev 16:17.

⁵⁸ Burmester, *Horologion*, 131, 232 reads „ΕΘΥ“.

⁵⁹ Jn 1:18; 1Jn 4:9.

⁶⁰ Burmester, *Horologion*, 131, 232 reads „ΝΑΝ“.

⁶¹ Lk 7:13; Jn 1:29, 36.

⁶² Rev 15:4.

⁶³ Heb 8:1; Eph 1:20.

ΝΘΟΚ ΜΜΑΥΑΤΚ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ⁶⁴

ΝΘΟΚ ΜΜΑΥΑΤΚ ΕΘΒΟCΙ⁶⁵

ΠΒC ΙΗC ΠΧC ΝΕΜ ΠΙΠΝΑ

ΕΘΟΥΑΒ⁶⁶ ΕΥΩΟΥ⁶⁷ ΜΦ†

ΦΙΩΤ ΑΜΗΝ

†ΝΑΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΜΗΝΙ ΜΜΗ

ΝΙ †ΝΑΣΜΟΥ ΕΠΕΚΡΑΝ Ε

ΘΟΥΑΒ⁶⁸ ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΝΕΜ ΨΑ

ΕΝΕΖ ΝΤΕ ΝΙΕΝΕΖ⁷⁰

ΙCΧΕΝ ΧΩΡΖ Α ΠΑΠΝΑ⁷¹ ΨΩΡΠ

ΜΜΟQ ΕΙ ΖΑΡΟΚ Φ† ΧΕ

ΖΑΝΟΥΩΙΝΙ ΝΕ ΝΕΚΟΥΑΖ

CΑΖΝΙ ΖΙΧΕΝ ΠΙΚΑΖΙ ΝΑΙ

ΕΡΜΕΛΕΤΑΝ ΖΙ ΝΕΚΜΩΙΤ

ΧΕ ΑΚΨΩΠΙ ΝΗΙ ΝΟΥΒΟ

ΗΘΟC

ΖΑΝΑΤΟΟΥΙ ΠΒC ΕΚΕCΩΤΕΜ

ΕΤΑCΜΗ ΨΩΡΠ ΕΙΕΤΑΖΟΙ

ΝΑΖΡΑΚ ΕΚΕΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΙ ΑΡΙ

ΚΑΤΑΞΙΟΙΝ ΠΒC ΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΝ

ΞΕΝ ΠΑΙΚΕΕΖΟΟΥ ΦΑΙ ΕΝ

ΟΙ ΝΑΘΝΟΒΙ

ΚCΑΜΑΡΩΟΥΤ ΠΒC Φ† ΝΤΕ

ΝΕΝΙΟ† ΚΕΡΖΟΥΟ CΜΑ

ΡΩΟΥΤ ΟΥΟΖ QΜΕΖ ΝΩ

ΟΥ ΝΧΕ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ

ΨΑ ΝΙΕΝΕΖ ΑΜΗΝ ΜΑΡΕQ

ΨΩΠΙ ΝΧΕ ΠΕΚΝΑΙ ΕΖΡΗΙ

ΕΧΩΝ ΠΒC ΚΑΤΑ ΦΡΗ†

ΕΤΑΝΕΡΖΕΛΠΙC ΕΡΟΚ ΠΒC

ΧΕ ΝΕΝΒΑΛ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ

for you only are the Holy

you only are exalted

Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy

Spirit unto glory of God

the Father. Amen.

I will bless you day by day

I will bless your holy name

forever and ever⁶⁹.

Since night my soul has hastened

to come to you, God, for

your commandments are

lights on the earth⁷². I was

meditating upon your ways

for you became

to me a helper.

In the morning, Lord, you shall hear

my voice early I shall present

myself to you, that you shall see me⁷³.

Make us worthy, o Lord, to keep us

in this day also

sinless.

Blessed are you, Lord, God of our

Father, you are exceedingly⁷⁴

blessed; your holy Name is

full of glory forever

Amen⁷⁵. Let your mercy

be upon us, Lord, as we

have trusted you⁷⁶;

for the eyes of

everyone

⁶⁴ Burmester, *Horologion*, 131, 232 reads „εΘΥ“.

⁶⁵ Burmester, *Horologion*, 131, 232 reads „ετβocι“.

⁶⁶ Burmester, *Horologion*, 131, 232 reads „εΘΥ“.

⁶⁷ Burmester, *Horologion*, 131, 232 reads „εοϋωου“.

⁶⁸ Burmester, *Horologion*, 131, 232 reads „εΘΥ“.

⁶⁹ Ps 145:2.

⁷⁰ Burmester, *Horologion*, 131, 232 adds „ΑΜΗΝ“ „Amen“.

⁷¹ Burmester, *Horologion*, 131, 232 reads „ΠΑΠΝΕΥΜΑ“.

⁷² Ps 119:15; Is 26:9.

⁷³ Ps 5:2-3, 59:16-17, 63:6-7.

⁷⁴ Ps 119:12. The Third Ode: al-Baramousi, *ΨΑΛΜΟΔΙΑ*, 58.

⁷⁵ Ps 72:19.

⁷⁶ Ps 33:20-22.

σεεργελπις εροκ π̄δ̄
 χε ν̄οοκ ε̄ο̄να† ν̄τοϋ̄
 ρε ν̄ωοϋ̄ ς̄εν π̄χοϋ̄ ν
 της σω̄τεμ̄ ε̄ρον
 φ† π̄εν̄σω̄τηρ †̄ζε̄λπις
 ν̄τε̄ ᾱρη̄χ̄η̄ μ̄π̄κᾱρῑ τη̄ρ̄
 ν̄οοκ̄ δε̄ π̄δ̄ εκ̄ε̄αρ̄ε̄ζ̄ ε̄ρον
 εκ̄ε̄νᾱζ̄με̄ν̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ν̄το̄τ̄
 μ̄πᾱῑχ̄ω̄οϋ̄ φ̄αῑ ν̄ε̄μ̄ ψ̄α
 ε̄νε̄ζ̄
 κ̄ε̄μᾱρ̄ω̄ο̄τ̄ π̄δ̄ μᾱτ̄σα
 βο̄ῑ ε̄νε̄κ̄με̄ο̄μ̄ν̄ῑ κ̄ε̄μᾱ
 ρ̄ω̄ο̄τ̄ π̄δ̄ μᾱκᾱ† ν̄ν̄ῑ
 ε̄νε̄κ̄με̄ο̄μ̄ν̄ῑ κ̄ε̄μᾱρ̄
 ο̄ῡτ̄ π̄δ̄ μᾱφο̄ϋ̄ω̄ιν̄ῑ
 ν̄ν̄ῑ ε̄νε̄κ̄με̄ο̄μ̄ν̄ῑ
 π̄δ̄ πε̄κ̄ν̄αῑ ψ̄ο̄π̄ ψ̄ᾱ ε̄νε̄ζ̄
 ν̄ῑζ̄β̄η̄ο̄ϋ̄ ν̄τε̄ νε̄κ̄χ̄ῑχ̄
 π̄δ̄ μ̄πε̄ρ̄χᾱϋ̄ ν̄σω̄κ̄
 π̄δ̄ ακ̄ω̄π̄ῑ ν̄ν̄ῑ νο̄ϋ̄μᾱν̄
 φ̄ω̄τ̄ ῑς̄χ̄ε̄ν̄ χ̄ω̄οϋ̄ ψ̄ᾱ
 χ̄ω̄οϋ̄ αν̄ο̄κ̄ αῑχ̄ο̄ς̄ χ̄ε̄
 π̄δ̄ ν̄αῑ ν̄ν̄ῑ μᾱτο̄ϋ̄χο̄
 ν̄τᾱψ̄ῡχη̄ χ̄ε̄ αῑε̄ρ̄νο̄β̄ῑ
 ε̄ρο̄κ̄ π̄δ̄ αῑφ̄ω̄τ̄ ζ̄ᾱρο̄κ̄
 νᾱζ̄με̄τ̄ μᾱτ̄σᾱβο̄ῑ ε̄ῑρῑ
 μ̄πε̄τε̄ζ̄νᾱκ̄ χ̄ε̄ ν̄οο̄κ̄
 πε̄ πᾱνο̄ϋ̄†
 ᾱς̄ζ̄ᾱρο̄ῑ ν̄χε̄ †̄μο̄ϋ̄μ̄ῑ ν̄τε̄
 π̄ω̄ν̄ς̄ ς̄εν̄ πε̄κο̄ϋ̄ω̄ιν̄ῑ
 π̄δ̄ ε̄νε̄νᾱϋ̄ ε̄ο̄ϋ̄ω̄ῑ
 ν̄ῑμᾱρε̄φῑ ν̄χε̄ νε̄κ̄ν̄αῑ
 ν̄ν̄η̄ε̄τ̄σω̄ο̄ν̄ μ̄μο̄κ̄

trust you, o Lord,
 for you shall give to them
 their food at the time of giving it⁷⁷.
 Hear us
 God our Saviour, the hope
 of the ends of all the earth⁷⁸.
 For you, Lord, shall keep us
 and shall save us
 from this generation and
 forever⁷⁹.
 Blessed are you, o Lord, teach
 me your righteousness⁸⁰. Blessed are
 you, o Lord, give me intelligence in
 your righteousness⁸¹. Blessed are you
 Lord, enlighten me in your
 Righteousness⁸².
 Lord, your mercy endures forever.
 The works of your hands
 do not leave them behind you⁸³.
 Lord, you became a place of
 refuge from generation to
 generation⁸⁴. I said:
 Lord, have mercy upon
 me, heal my Soul, for I have sinned
 against you⁸⁵. Lord, I have fled to you:
 save me and instruct me to do
 your will, for you are
 my God⁸⁶.
 With me be the well of
 Life. In your light,
 Lord, we shall see light
 let your mercy come
 to those who know you

⁷⁷ Ps 145:15.⁷⁸ Ps 64:1.⁷⁹ Ps 12:7.⁸⁰ Ps 25:4; 118:12.64.⁸¹ Ps 118:168.⁸² Ps 118:130, 37:6.⁸³ Ps 138:8.⁸⁴ Ps 90:1.⁸⁵ Ps 41:3.⁸⁶ Ps 31:14, 143:9-10.

ΤΕΚΜΕΘΜΗΙ ΝΗΗΕΤΣΟΥ
 ΤΩΝ ΞΕΝ ΠΟΥΖΗΤ ΦΕΡ
 ΨΑΥ ΝΑΚ ΝΧΕ ΠΙΣΜΟΥ
 ΦΕΡΨΑΥ ΝΑΚ ΝΧΕ ΠΙΣΩΣ
 ΦΕΡΠΡΕΠΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΧΕ ΠΙΩ
 ΟΥ
 ΦΙΩΤ ΝΕΜ ΠΩΗΡΙ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΠ̄Ν̄Α
 ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΦΗ ΕΤΨΟΠ ΙΣΧΕΝ
 ΦΗ ΝΕΜ ΨΝΟΥ ΝΕΜ ΨΑ Ε
 ΝΕΖ ΑΜΗΝ⁸⁷
 ΑΓΙΟΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΣΧΥΡΟΣ
 ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ Ο ΕΚ
 ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΥ ΓΕΝΝΗΘΙΣ Ε
 ΛΕΗΣΟΝ ΗΜΑΣ
 ΑΓΙΟΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΣΧΥ
 ΡΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ
 Ο ΣΤΑΥΡΩΘΗΣ ΤΕ ΗΜΑΣ
 ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ ΗΜΑΣ
 ΑΓΙΟΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΣΧΥ
 ΡΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ Ο
 ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ ΤΟ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ
 ΚΕ ΑΝΕΛΘΩΝ ΤΙΣ ΟΥΡΑ
 ΝΟΥΣ ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ ΗΜΑΣ
 ΔΟΞΑ ΠΑΤΡΙ ΚΕ ΙΟ ΚΕ ΑΓΙΟΥ
 Π̄Ν̄ΑΤΙ ΚΕ ΝΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΙ ΚΕ
 ΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΩΝΑΣ ΤΟΝ Ε
 ΩΝΟΝ ΑΜΗΝ
 ΑΓΙΑ ΤΡΙΑΣ ΕΛΗΣΟΝ ΗΜΑΣ
 ΑΓΙΑ ΤΡΙΑΣ ΕΛΗΣΟΝ ΗΜΑΣ
 ΑΓΙΑ ΤΡΙΑΣ ΕΛΗΣΟΝ ΗΜΑΣ
 ΤΡΙΣΑΓΙΕ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΛΕΗΣΟΝ
 ΚΥΡΙΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ ΚΥΡΙΕ
 ΛΕΗΣΟΝ [...]

and your righteousness to
 those who are upright in their heart⁸⁷.

To you befit the praise⁸⁸.

To you befit the hymn.

To you is due
the glory.

The Father, the Son and the Holy
Spirit, who is from the beginning and
now and forever
Amen⁹⁰.

Holy God, holy mighty

Holy immortal who was

Born from the Virgin

Have mercy upon us

Holy God⁹¹, holy mighty

Holy immortal

Who had been crucified for us

Have mercy upon us

Holy God, holy mighty

Holy immortal

Who rose from the dead

and ascended into

Heavens have mercy upon us

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son and
to the Holy Spirit both now and always

and unto the age of the
ages Amen.

Holy Trinity have mercy upon us

Holy Trinity have mercy upon us

Holy Trinity have mercy upon us

Three time holy, have mercy

Lord, have mercy, Lord,

have mercy [...]

⁸⁷ Ps 36:9-10.

⁸⁸ Ps 65:1.

⁸⁹ Burmester, *Horologion*, 137 (Text), 237 (Translation) adds ΝΑΝΕ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠ̄Ο̄Σ ΕΕΡΨΑΛΙΝ ΕΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΠΕΤΒΟCΙ ΕΠΧΙΝΦΙΡΙ ΕΠΕΚΝΑΙ ΝΖΑΝΑΤΟΟΥΙ ΝΕΜ ΤΕΚΜΕΘΜΗΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΕΧΩΡΖ. It is good to confess to the Lord, to sing to thy Exalter Name, to show forth thy Mercy in the morning and thy truth at night. Ps 92:1-2. This addition is not in the Greek text.

⁹⁰ Ps 92:1-2.

⁹¹ For this hymn cf. Youssef, "Notes", 147-159.

Commentary

This prayer is a combination of three prayers, the first is called in the actual Horologion⁹² the „*Praise of the Angels*.“ It is used in the Greek and the Coptic rites for the morning prayers⁹³, the second is the *Vouchsafe* for the evening prayer⁹⁴, and finally the *Trisagion* with the so-called monophysite addition.

The Palestinian Syriac Horologion, dated 1187/1888 AD, and written by a Syrian Chalcedonian, calls this hymn: „*the hymn of the angels*.“⁹⁵ It is formed from the praise of the angels and the *Vouchsafe*. The text is followed by this: „*Say: Holy God. etc*“. It seems that the scribe of this manuscript assumed that this hymn is known to everybody and so there is no need to repeat it here.

The Greek *Mega Horologion* includes this text also with the *Trisagion*⁹⁶ the title is the „*Doxology*“ or the „*Little doxology*“⁹⁷. There is no attribution to the text.

We can see that this text is known to both chalcedonian and non-chalcedonian churches. It was written in Coptic, Syriac and Greek.

The text is full of biblical quotations, mainly from the book of the Psalms, which is the Prayer book *par excellence* for the monastic milieu in Egypt since the fourth century⁹⁸.

As the life of John Kame and the Psalter of the BnF belong to the same scriptorium (of Saint Macarius — Scetis) and to nearly the same date, it would be possible to conclude that the life of John of Kame makes allusion to the above mentioned prayer.

In the previous part, we came to conclusion that the magma' (*memento sanctorum*) was introduced in the Coptic Psalmodia starting from the fifteenth century, hence the psalmodia of midnight ends with the praise of the Three young men.

According to our text that the brethren (in the monastery of John Kame) were singing the hymn of the three young men and Saint Athanasius appeared to Saint John Kame. Hence we may deduce that the monks of that monastery were ending the midnight psalmodia and were about to start the dawn praise with the prayer of Saint Athanasius.

⁹² Burmester, *Horologion*, 131-134, 232-233, 154.

⁹³ Abd al-Masih, „*Doxologies*“, 107-109.

⁹⁴ Burmester, *Horologion*, 136-137, 237, 68.

⁹⁵ Black, *Horologion*, fol. 99b-102b, 91 (Translation), 300-304 (Text).

⁹⁶ *Horologion*, 216-217.

⁹⁷ Liturgikon, 60-62.

⁹⁸ Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 58-73.

John Kame then established a new tradition to mention the name of Saint Athanasius. It seems that this tradition was developed later and forming the beginning of the magma' (*memento sanctorum*) which will take its final form by the fifteenth century.

General conclusion

The magma' was introduced between the first three odes and the fourth one in the fifteenth century. The beginning took place first in Scetis as it is mentioned in the life of John Kame.

This conclusion will help to date the fragments of the manuscripts of the Coptic psalmodia, and it contributes to our knowledge of the development of the rite of the Coptic Church.

The attribution to Saint Athanasius of the prayers of the „*Praise of the Angels*“ and the „*Vouchsafe*“ is probable.

For the following reasons:

- 1 – This prayer is shared between chalcedonian and non-chalcedonian.
- 2 – It is full of Biblical mainly from the book of Psalms, which is the prayer book for the monks since the fourth century.
- 3 – It is addressed to the Father, to the Son through to the Holy Spirit, which reflects a Nicene background.
- 4 – The Trisagion developed separately in each tradition.

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